An Interpretation of Hopi culture

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integrating small, relatively stable groups such as were characteristic of early Hopi history – in effect, that it represents a stage of development through which Hopi society has passed and come out the other side, leaving a residue in present-day Hopi attitudes between the relatives involved. Certainly, such attitudes still persist.

[24] The husbands of his father's sisters he addressed as *ikwa'a*, the same term he applied to his own father's father.

[25] Or, alternatively, in return for the sexual and economic services rendered by a man in one generation, his son reciprocates the services in the next.

[26] In the Great Basin, also, salt was virtually the only object for which people might travel long distances: much of it came from Saline Valley, to the east of the Inyo Mountains, whence it was bartered to the Owens Valley Paiute, and thence, in return for sea-shells, across the Sierra Nevada Mountains: Steward (1938), pp. 45, 78. Formerly the Hopi, too, made occasional journeys across the desert country to the Pacific coast to fetch sea-shells: Mearns (1896), p. 392.

[27] The link between kinship terminology and residence was noted many years ago by Lowie (1929, p. 380: my italics at end):

> What possible reason *can* be given for calling all the female descendants through females of the paternal aunt by the same term as the paternal aunt herself, unless it be the fact that all these females are members of the same clan *or, to put it more cautiously, unless they are aligned together by some cause, such as common residence, that is correlated with the clan idea?*

[28] For a summary of the archaeological evidence to the 1940's, see Reed (1946), Eggan (1950), pp. 123–30, and Steward (1955), p. 161 *et seq*. Since then much additional work has been done, notably in the Glen Canyon area to do with the flooding of Lake Powell, and in the upper basin of the Little Colorado; some of this later work is referred to in the text and in footnotes.

The distinctive branch of Basketmaker and early Pueblo culture that developed in the San Juan basin is known as the Anasazi culture. It lasted for rather more than a thousand years, coming to an end around A.D. 1300; at that time the entire San Juan drainage was abandoned, probably on account of arroyo-cutting caused by prolonged rain-lack (Reed, 1946, p. 303).

[29] The development appears to have been set off initially by the introduction into the Southwest, around A.D. 700, of a fresh strain of eight-rowed corn which crossed with the strains already being grown there to produce new hybrids, adaptable to higher altitudes and more drought-resistant than the old, yielding a heavier crop and one easier to mill; the new hybrids were capable of supporting a larger population than the old, and facilitated expansion out onto lands previously unsuited to corn-growing (Galinat, 1965, pp. 353–5).

[30] Vivian and Mathews (1964), p. 29. Similar house clusters, rather later in date (*c.* A.D. 950 to 1150), are found fairly densely over the Rainbow Plateau region to the east of Navajo Mountain, 75 miles north of the Hopi villages; many of these settlements are located near seeps or springs, nearly all have areas of arable land nearby, and some also show traces of terracing and linear borders: Lindsay *et al* (1968), pp. 20–1, 121–36, 364–5.

[31] Woodbury (1961), especially pp. 8–38. Since then, a further study of prehistoric field systems has been carried out by A. J. Lindsay (1961), on the delta of Beaver Creek near the mouth of the San Juan River, 75 miles to the north of the Hopi villages. Besides terrace walls, and linear and grid borders (as at Point of Pines), the Beaver Creek people constructed stone-lined ditches to carry water to areas which could not be farmed without irrigation. The associated small house clusters date from A.D. 1050 to about 1250, occupancy of the

site being terminated by dissection of the alluvial floor of the valley consequent on the rain-lack which hit the San Juan drainage in the later thirteenth century.

[32] Within an area of about 100 sq. miles, there are scores of similar farm sites which have not been mapped and measured. Woodbury estimates (1961, pp. 37–8) that as many as 1,000 acres may originally have been terraced or bordered by stone alignments, and that the total area under cultivation may, at its peak, have risen to over 6,000 acres. These figures are commensurate with my own from the Oraibi valley, i.e. some 2,500 acres of farm land out of a total area of about 50 sq. miles; and I have estimated *there* that each matrilineage held from 40 to 60 acres of farm land.

[33] In one site at Point of Pines (Woodbury, 1961, pp. 24–6), nearly 200 terrace walls, with an average length of 20 metres and an estimated height of 50 cm., were built in three adjoining gullies; this system, which conserved about 5 acres of garden land, extended over more than 1,000 yards of drainage. As Woodbury points out, this is as much masonry as might be used in a fifty- or seventy-five-room pueblo, although (as he says) less difficult to lay up.

[34] Eggan (1950), p. 123. At Point of Pines, the following cultivated plants have been identified: maize (*Zea mays*), kidney beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), tepary beans (*P. acutifolius*), and squash (*Cucurbita mixta*); at the Tularosa cave site, 75 miles to the north, these were supplemented by sunflowers (*helianthus*) and, from around A.D. 700 on, by cotton (Cutler, 1952).

[35] Eggan (1950), p. 123: slab-lined, I suppose, in order to inhibit the depredations of rats and mice. The size of such stored reserves is indicated by one room at Point of Pines, which contained approximately 25 bushels of charred corn: Woodbury (1961), p. 35.

[36] For these improvements in design, see Eddy (1964), pp. 8–9 and Fig. 1. The new techniques for grinding corn were accompanied by grinding bins, for storing the ground flour (Eggan, 1950, p. 129), and by improved methods of cooking (Hough, 1928, p. 69).

[37] This aspect of traditional pueblo economy has been expressed by Miss B. Freire-Marreco (1914, p. 282), speaking – again in the voice of a Tewa girl – of the men of other clans who are married to our clanswomen:

> These are the men who support, or should support, the household, bringing their yearly crops to their wives to be stored and administered by *saja* [mother's mother, in Tewa: the senior woman of a clan or household], killing sheep (if they have any), and bringing firewood at frequent intervals.

[38] The germ of the idea put forward here is to be found in Eggan (1950, pp. 129, 131). Eggan believes that improved techniques for grinding corn, and the greater efficiency obtained by women grinding together in small groups, was an important factor in maintaining the matrilineal-matrilocal character of western Pueblo society. My own view is more radical: that it was the formation of corn-grinding groups (of women) on the one hand, and of field-working groups (of men) on the other, coeval with the development of *field*-agriculture (as distinct from casual sowing of valley bottoms), that gave western Pueblo society that character.

[39] Precedent, that is, to the actual working of *fields* by men. I see no need to postulate, as Steward does (1955, p. 169), that women originally tilled the soil (particularly as, among the Owens Valley Paiute, it was men who cleared the ground for tobacco plants and who were in charge of the irrigation ditches); it is enough, surely, that women were the original seed-gatherers, and that valley seed plots tended to belong to them.

Had the alternative precedent, of patrilocal residence and male ownership of pine-nut tracts, been followed, then, doubtless, the fields would have belonged to men and patrilocal-patrilineal descent groups would have emerged – as has, in fact, taken place